

Clause combining in Sumbawa, Indonesia

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This study examines clause combining patterns of Sumbawa on the basis of the colloquial data of the contemporary Sumbawa Besar dialect collected by the present author and relatively old written texts such as Jonker (1934). The contemporary oral data telling a folklore and old texts share some common features: (i) subordinate clauses without a conjunction, which occur frequently in elicited sentences, are not observed, (ii) temporal succession tends to be expressed by parataxis, rather than by subordination (e.g., by an adverbial and a main clause), and (iii) the verb phrase directly modifies the head noun in relative clauses and the relativizer *adè*, which often appears in elicited sentences, is never used. In addition, the adversative conjunction *tapi* (the equivalent of English but) is not attested in the old texts.

Keywords: clause combining, subordination, coordination, parataxis, relative clause, Sumbawa, Indonesia

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1. Introduction*

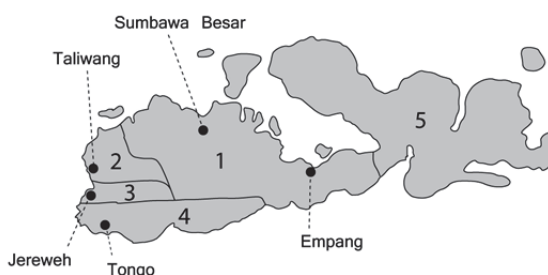
Sumbawa is a language spoken in the western part of Sumbawa Island in Indonesia. According to Adelaar (2005), Sumbawa belongs to the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup,

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The transcription employed here basically follows the orthography of Indonesian, using the following conventions: ng for [ŋ], ny for [ɲ], c for [tʃ], j for [dʒ], y for [j], and e for [ə]. There are also some additional distinctions in the transcription of some vowels, as in open-mid unrounded front vowel è [ɛ], the close-mid unrounded front vowel é [e], a the open-mid rounded back vowel o [ɔ], and the close-mid rounded back vowel ó [o]. An apostrophe (') in the word final is used to show stress when it is heavier than usual.

which is a (western) member of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. As observed in Map 1, Mahsun (1999) distinguishes four main dialects on the basis of comparison of the basic vocabulary:



Map 1: Distribution of the Sumbawa language and its dialects
[based on Mahsun (1999)]¹

- (i) Sumbawa Besar dialect (No. 1), which is widely spoken in Central Sumbawa.
- (ii) Taliwan dialect (No. 2), spoken near Taliwan in the northwestern part of West Sumbawa.
- (iii) Jereweh dialect (No. 3), spoken near Jereweh in the central-eastern part of West Sumbawa.
- (iv) Tongo dialect (No. 4), spoken near Tongo in the southern part of West Sumbawa.

This study examines clause combining in Sumbawa based on data obtained from my own research of the Sumbawa Besar dialect² as well as the written texts of Jonker (1934). (It is unknown when and where Jonker originally obtained the information for his text.) After providing an overview of clause combining in Sumbawa, I will examine how clause combining occurs in narrative texts by focusing on two particular texts: a relatively old narrative provided by Jonker (1934) and a relatively recent narrative obtained during this research. The following section of this paper will adopt the terms of Longacre (2007, pp. 378-386), in which he calls “notions that encode within sentence structure,” in order to label the semantic relation exhibited by combined clauses (unless otherwise mentioned).

2. Overview

This section provides an overview of clause combining in contemporary Sumbawa, based on both the elicited and collected text data. In some cases, clause combining is

¹ Bimanese is spoken in No.5 area.

² See Shiohara (2012) on the status of this dialect.

accompanied with a conjunction, whereas in other cases, it is not. The former case will be shown in 2.1, whereas the latter will be examined in 2.2.

2.1. Clause combining with a conjunction

A few adverbial and relative clauses are introduced by a conjunction. The following examples highlight such clauses:

(a) Adverbial clause

- (i) Temporal Succession: *senópoka* ‘before,’ *sesuda* ‘after,’ *setela* ‘after,’ *beru* ‘just after’

- (1) *senópoka* *ku=mangan* *ku=maning*.
 before 1SG=have a meal 1SG=have a shower
 “I took a shower before I had breakfast.” [Elicited]

- (ii) Temporal overlap: *muntu* ‘when’

- (2) *datang* *nya* *muntu* *ku-mopo*.
 come 3 when 1SG-laundry
 “When I was going for my wash, he came.” [Elicited]

- (iii) Conditionality: *lamin* ‘if’

- (3) *lamin* *saté* *mu-tutét* *ku,* *mu-datang* *mo*.
 if like 2SG-follow 1SG 2SG-come IMP
 “If you want to follow me, just come.” [Shiohara (2006: 18)]

- (iv) Causation: *ling* ‘because,’ *sijar* ‘because,’ *sebab* ‘because,’ and *apa* ‘for’

- (4) *ling* *nómo* *bau* *tahan*
 because NEG.anymore can stand
laló *mo* *si* *Ijo* *ta*.
 go ICT TITLE Ijo this
 “Because she couldn’t stand any more, Ijo went out.” [Ijo]

- (v) Purpose³: *bau* + desiderative *ma* ‘in order to’

³ Longacre (2007, 378-386) considers “purpose” as a subcategory of causation, on the basis which purpose is often expressed by very similar surface structures to causation. However, in Sumbawa, purpose is expressed by a different

Most of the adverbial clauses can take the same set of arguments as an independent clause. In addition, the verb can be marked with a person marker and any TAM marker. Only one exception is a purpose clause. It normally (but not obligatorily) occurs with the desiderative modal marker *ma*⁴, which is introduced by the conjunction *bau*.

Examples (5) show a purpose clause:

- (5) *ai'gula, nó. si, bau ma=lèma' gat*
 water sugar NEG.UPTD can PURP=early concentrated
 “(On being asked if adequately sugared water should be put in the pan while beginning to cook rice pudding) “Not (so much) sugared water (is put in), so that it is concentrated earlier.” [Shiohara (2006: 137)]

Most of the adverbial clauses may precede or follow the main clause. The only exception includes a clause with *apa* “because” since it always follows the main clause. A sentence in which an *apa* clause precedes to the main clause is not permitted.

- (6) *ada' pitu' pégó, apa pitu' tau.*
 exist seven pot because seven person
 “There are seven pots, for there are seven people.” [Shiohara (2006: 3)]

(vi) Frustration (expectancy reversal): *kelé'* “though,” *sedang* “though”

- (7) *béló' gama umir tu, Edot,*
 long INTERJ (I hope) age 1PL Edot
kele' ta lók-lók rabuya bibi mu ta é.. nanta.
 although this way live aunt 2SG this INTERJ INTERJ
 “I hope we could live long, although our life is like this.” [Shiohara (2006: 125)]

(b) Relative clause

device from causation. Therefore, I will list it as an independent category.

⁴ A clause with the modal marker *ma*=indicates request or invitation.

(a) *ma=ku-ènèng tulóng lakó sia.*
ma=1SG-ask.for help to 2SG
 “May I ask for your help?” or “Let me ask for your help.”

(b) *ma=sia-datang kóta.*
ma=2SG-come to.here
 “Please come here.”

A relative clause is introduced by the conjunction *adè* (*dè*), and its function is similar to *yang* in Malay. Example (8) shows a relative clause observed in the spontaneous utterance of a native speaker:

- (8) *ta nya [alat dè ya=kènanang]*
 this 3 tool REL FUT=use
ya-nan-si berang atawa lading.
 that.is sword or knife
 “This is a tool that is used (for cutting a leaf), namely, a sword or a knife.”
 [Spontaneous utterance]

An intransitive subject, transitive actor or undergoer, and a recipient NP of a ditransitive clause may serve as an antecedent of the relative clause headed by *adè*. Examples (9) and (10) show an intransitive relative clause.

- (9) *tau [adè ngamók kè aku]*
 person REL angry with 1SG
 “A person who is angry with me.” [Elicited]

- (10) *tau [adè laló kona’]*
 person REL go there
 “A person who went there.” [Elicited]

Examples (11)b and c correspond to the simplex clause in Example (11)a and show relative clauses that include a transitive verb *tari* “wait.” In Example (11)b, the Undergoer NP is relativised, whereas in Example (11)c, the Actor NP is relativised.

- (11) a. *ya=tari anak ling ina nan*
 3=wait child by mother that
 “The mother waits for her child.” [Elicited]
 (11) b. *anak [adè ya-tari \varnothing ling ina nan]*
 child REL 3-wait by mother that
 “A child whom his mother waits for.” [Elicited]
 (11) c. *ina [adè \varnothing -tari anak]*
 mother that wait child
 “A mother who waits for her child.” [Elicited]

An NP that corresponds to the relativized (head) NP does not appear within the relative clause itself in Sumbawa, either as an independent NP or as a person marker that precedes the verb.

Examples (11)d through (11)g that do not fill the condition are not accepted by native speakers.

- (11) d. **anak* [adè ya-tari anak nya ling ina nan]
 child REL 3=wait child 3 by mother that
 (Intended meaning) “A child whom his mother waits for.”
- (11) e. **anak* [adè ya=tari nya ling ina nan]
 child REL 3=wait 3 by mother that
 (Intended meaning) “A child whom his mother waits for.”
- (11) f. **ina* [adè ya=tari anak nya ling ina nya]
 mother REL 0=wait child 3 by mother 3
 (Intended meaning) “A mother who waits for her child.”
- (11) g. **ina* [adè ya=tari anak nya ling nya]
 mother REL 0=wait child 3 by 3
 (Intended meaning) “A mother who waits for her child.”

Examples (12)b-d show relative clauses that include ditransitive verbs, which correspond to the simplex clause in Example (12)a. In this case, the recipient NP [Example (12)d] as well as the actor NP [Example (12)b] and the theme-NP [Example (12)c] are relativized.

- (12) a. *ya-bèang'* lamong ling ina lakó anak
 3-give clothes by mother to child
 “The mother gives clothes to her child.” [Elicited]
- (12) b. *ina* [adè ϕ =bèang lamong lakó anak]
 mother REL give clothes to child
 “A mother who gives clothes to her child.” [Elicited]
- (12) c. *lamong* [adè ya-bèang ling ina lakó anak]
 clothes REL 3=give by mother to child
 “Clothes that the mother gives to her child.” [Elicited]
- (12) d. *anak* [adè ya-bèang lamong ling ina nan]
 person REL 3=give clothes by mother that
 “A child to whom his mother gives clothes.” [Elicited]

2.2 Clause combining without a conjunction

Various semantic relations are expressed by a combined clause without a conjunction in Sumbawa. In describing each relation, I adopt the label Longacre (2007, pp. 377-386) employs to present notions that can be encoded in combined clauses.

A combined clause without conjunction may be grouped into subordinate or coordinate types. The former is examined in 2.2.1, the latter, in 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Subordinate type

This type consists of main and subordinate clause. The two clauses share a core argument (transitive actor, transitive undergoer, or intransitive subject) semantically, and such a shared argument cannot occur in a subordinate clause, either as an independent NP or as a person marker that precedes the verb. This type of clause often indicates a semantic relation of attribution (quotation) or overlap temporality.

(a) Attribution (quotation)

This subgroup is observed when the main verb belongs to one of the following semantic types:

(i) Communication

angóp ‘guarantee,’ *setuju* ‘agree,’ *bajangi* ‘promise,’ *bada* ‘tell’

(ii) Cognition

sadu ‘believe,’ *gita* ‘see,’ *totang* ‘remember,’ *kalupa* ‘forgot’

The subordinate clause indicates the content of the communication or recognition. Example (13) shows the verb *suru* ‘order.’

- (13) *ya-suru’ ku [beli jangan nan] léng nya Amin*
 3-order 1SG buy fish that by TITLE Amin
 ‘Amin tells me to buy the fish.’ [Elicited]

In this construction, the undergoer of the main clause and the one from the core argument (actor or the undergoer) of the subordinate clause is semantically co-referent. The constituent referring to it occurs only once as the undergoer of the main clause, and it does not occur in the subordinate clause.

The sentence (13’), which does not fill the condition, is not accepted by native speakers. The constituent that is cross-referent to the undergoer NP cannot occur in a complement clause either as an independent NP or a pronominal clitic.

- (13’) **ya-suru’ aku léng nya Amén [ku-beli jangan nan]*
 3-order 1SG by TITLE Amén 1sg-buy fish that

(Intended meaning) “Amin tells me to buy the fish.”

(b) Temporal overlap

In this subtype, main and complement clauses share the actor, and the constituent that expresses it does not occur in the complement clause. Semantic relations such as (i)-(v) are expressed by clause combining in this type:

- (i) Emotion and its cause
- (ii) Manner and action
- (iii) Movement and its device
- (iv) Instrumental
- (v) Commitative

(i) Emotion and the cause

When the main verb denotes an emotion (e.g., *ketakit* “scared” and *bosan* “bored”), the subordinate clause expressing its cause may follow the main verb.

- (14) *ku-ketakit* [ϕ =*lés* *mèsa*].
 1SG-scared go alone.
 “I go out alone with fear.” [Elicited]

(ii) Manner and action

When the main verb denotes a state (e.g., *sibuk* “busy” and *lè* “slowly”), the non-full clause expressing an action may follow the main verb.

- (15) *ku-sibók* [ϕ -*pina'* *tepóng* *nan*] *aku*
 1SG-busy make cake that 1SG
 “I am busy making the cake.” [Elicited]

(iii) Movement and its device

When the main verb denotes movement (e.g., *laló* “go” and *molé* “go home”), the subordinate clause expressing its device may follow the main verb.

- (16) *ku-laló* [ϕ -*entèk* *ojèk*].
 1SG-go ride bike-taxi
 “I go by ojek (bike-taxi).” [Elicited]

(iv) Instrumental, (v) commitative

The verb *berma* ‘do something with’ and *kèngang* ‘use’ may form a non-full clause as well as play a role similar to those of commitative and instrumental NPs, respectively.

- (17) *ku=mongka’* [*φ=kèngang’* *pamongka* *ta*].
 1SG=cook.rice use cooker this
 “I cook rice with this rice cooker.” [Elicited]

- (18) *ku-pina’* *tepóng* *nan* [*φ=berma’* *kè’* *si* *Siti*].
 1SG-make cake that accompany with TITLE Siti
 “I make the cake with my mother.” [Elicited]

In summary, the subordinate type of clause combining covers quite a wide range of semantics. The semantic relations of (iii)-(v) are often indicated by a serial verb construction in other languages of this area. However, in this particular language, they are expressed by the same syntactic device with the (a) attribution, which is often expressed by a complement clause across languages.

2.2.2 Coordinate type

This type consists of more than one full clause; these clauses form an intonation unit in that a non final clause ends with rising intonation, while a final clause ends with falling intonation that indicates the end of the unit. This type covers various semantic relations in Sumbawa. The list of the semantic relations is given here.

2.2.2.1 Attribution (quotation)

A few verbs of communication or cognition take on a full clause as a semantic complement. Such verbs include the speech-act verbs *bling* ‘say’ and *bada* ‘tell’ as well as the cognitive verbs *gita* ‘see’ and *to’* ‘know.’

Examples (19) includes the verb *to’* ‘know.’

- (19) *to’* *ling* *nya* *Amén* [*ka=mólé’* *si* *Siti*].
 know by TITLE Amén PAST=go.home TITLE Siti
 “Amin knew that Siti went home.” [Elicited]

Unlike the complement clause of the subordinate type observed in 2.2.1, the second clause in Example (19) includes a property in that it may take the same set of arguments as an independent clause and, the verb can be marked with a person marker and any TAM marker.

2.2.2.2 Coupling

Juxtaposition of two clauses is often observed when two situations are considered to be a pair in some way. For example, sentence (20) is an extract from a folktale. In this sentence two events that occurred in the same time and location are contrastively described. This kind of semantic relation can be considered to exhibit coupling and often expressed by two juxtaposed clauses.

- (20) *sópó' waktu ina' tuja padé,*
 one time mother pound rice
anak ya-satokal mo pang' bao batu Langléló ta
 child 3-sit ICT at on stone Langléló this
 “One day, the mother was pounding rice, and the children were made sat on the Langlelo Stone.” [Shiohara (2006: 59)]

2.2.2.3 Introducing or identifying an entity⁵

In this case, the first clause, whose main verb is normally the existential verb *ada* “exist,” introduces the new entity, whereas the second clause expresses the property of the entity.

- (21) *Ada sopo tau, Pomponge singin,*
 exist one person Pomponge name
pasang kodong ling tenga rau,
 set trap at middle field.
 “There was once a man called Pomponge, [who] set a trap in the middle of a dry field.” [Jonker (1934: 222)]

2.2.2.4 Paraphrase

The second clause in parataxis is often used to paraphrase the content of the first clause, as seen in Examples (22) and (23).

- (22) (One day, the mother was pounding rice, and the children sat on the Langlelo Stone.)
nó.poka' basebo, nó.poka' mangan
 NEG.yet have.breakfast NEG.yet eat
 “They had not had breakfast, and they had not had a meal.” [Shiohara (2006: 59)]

⁵ Longacre (2007, pp. 384) employs the label ‘deixis’ for this semantic relation.

- (23) *sedang* *lè'* *malóm* *tódé'* *anak=ta* *kan*
 although long as.you.know infant child=this INTERJ
masi *tódé'*
 still child
nó.po *to'* *berpikér* *nó.po* *to'* *apa*
 NEG.yet know think NEG.yet know anything

“Although it takes more time to cook rice, as you know, the children were very young, (they) didn’t have sense, they didn’t know anything, (they continued to ask their mother for food.)” [Shiohara (2006: 61)]

2.2.2.5 Succession (Successive events)

Successive events are often indicated by plural clauses that are juxtaposed.

- (24) *ètè'* *péné'* *api* *ta* *ba'* *kakan'* *mo*
 take short fire this so eat ICT
sentèk *mo* *pamongka* *lakó'* *bao* *senikan*
 put.onto ICT rice.cooker to on stove
bekela' *mo* *pamongka* *ta*
 boil ICT rice.cooker this

“To make a long story short, the fire was made, (the mother) put a rice cooker onto the stove, then the cooker was boiled.” [Shiohara (2006: 62)]

- (25) *ètè'* *péné'* *masak* *mè* *ya-óló'* *mo* *kó'* *piréng* *ya-óló'* *mo*
 take short cooked rice 3-put ICT to dish 3-put ICT
kó' *talang*
 to dish

“To make a long story short, the rice was cooked, and she (the mother) put it on a dish...” [Shiohara (2006: 64)]

3. Clause combining that is observed in two narratives

This section will examine how combined clauses actually appear in narratives by using two narratives as the data: an oral folklore titled “The Story of a Flat Stone,” which was collected by this author; and a written text (“text I,” tentatively titled as “The Story of Salam”), which was selected from Jonker (1934).

“The Story of a Flat Stone” was obtained through my research in the city of Empang in 1996. The storyteller is a man called Dea Ringgi who was born in the 1930s. The Story of Salam is a Sumbawa folktale that Jonker (1934) gathered, which was published with an

introduction written by P. Voorhoeve after Jonker's death. According to the introduction, this story had been published in 1907 well before it was published as a collection of folktales by Jonker. It is unknown when and where Jonker originally obtained the text, but it is clear that it reflects the Sumbawa language around 1907. The following part of this section will examine how clause combining occurs in each of the texts in order to discover the differences between the two as well as illuminate the language of a relatively younger age, which we can see in the elicited data.

Table 1: Text type and the Speakers' birth year

Text type	The speakers' birth year
The Story of Salam (Jonker (1934))	Before 1890s, at the latest
The Story of a Flat Stone (Shiohara (2006))	1930s
Elicited sentences	1975

First, we will examine the frequency of the combined clause with and without a conjunction (parataxis), respectively.

As for parataxis, it is difficult to make a completely objective judgment if more than one clause is combined (to make a unit). However, this author attempted to make as objective judgment by using a phonological unit and punctuation as the clue. As to the oral text that was gathered for this research (Shiohara, 2006), clauses formed a unit, especially when they form a phonological unit, and can be considered to have some semantic relation. The following includes examples from each text.

Example (26) is the beginning of "The Story of a Flat Stone." The four clauses can safely be judged as a unit, since the four clauses included here form a phonological unit in that the first three clauses, namely (a), (b), and (c), end with rising intonation, while the last clause (d) ends with falling intonation, which indicates the unit final. Semantically the first two clause encode a semantic relation of introducing or identifying an entity (2.2.2.3), while the last two clauses encode that of coupling (2.2.2.2). Further, the second clause (b) and the last two clauses (c) and (d) encode a semantic relation of paraphrase (2.2.2.4).

- (26) (a) *saman* *dunóng'* *ana* *ada'* *sópó'* *keluarga*
 time before over.there exist one family
 (b) *dua* *anak*
 two child
 (c) *soai* *sa-kodèng,*
 female one-person

(d) *salaki sa-kodèng*

male one-person

“There is a family with two children, one girl and one boy.”

(lit. There is a family. The number of children is two. One is a girl, another is a boy.) [Shiohara (2006: 59)]

As for a written text, this author adopted Jonker’s punctuation as a unit boundary. Example (27) is the beginning of “The Story of Salam.” In this case, three clauses are combined with a comma to form a sentence, which could be called “a unit.”⁶

(27) *ada sanompo tau miskin,*

exist one person poor

ada anak sopo basingin Salam, ia-antat ngaji.

exist child one named Salam, 3=take ngaji

“There was once a poor man who had a son by the name of Salam, whom he sent to school (ngaji).”

(lit. There was once a poor man, there was a child named Salam, he took (the son) ngaji.) [Jonker (1934: 214)]

Table 2 presents the number of clauses and units with/ without a conjunction in each text. The frequency of the conjunction is higher in the more recent text compared to the older one.

Table 2: Number of clauses and units

	Story of a Flat Stone (Shiohara, 2012)	Story of Salam (Jonker, 1934)
Clause	177	267
Units of combined clauses	92	139
Units with a conjunction	33	19
Units without a conjunction	58	96
Subordinate type	0	0
Coordinate type	58	96

le 3 shows a list of conjunctions and their frequency.

⁶While citing Jonker (1934), the original orthography is retained. The original Dutch text is translated by Stuart Robson and is glossed by the present author.

Table 3: Conjunctions observed in each text

	Story of a Flat Stone (Shiohara (2006))	Story of Salam (Jonker (1934))
Units with conjunction	33	19
<i>lamin</i> (condition) “if”	7	1
<i>narang</i> (temporal overlap) “the more... the more”	6	0
<i>tapi</i> (frustration) “but”	6	0
<i>apa</i> (causation) “because”	3	7
<i>karena</i> (causation) “because”	2	0
<i>bau</i> (purpose) “so that”	2	0
<i>mutu/muntu</i> (temporal overlap) “when”	2	1
<i>sebab</i> (causation) “because”	1	0
<i>sedang</i> (frustration) “though”	1	0
<i>makin</i> (temporal overlap) “the more... the more”	1	0
<i>beru</i> (succession)	1	0
<i>seolaola</i> (simile) “like”	1	0
<i>ame</i> (causation) “so that”	0	8
<i>mana</i> (frustration) “even”	0	1
<i>mengka</i> (succession) “just after”	0	1

On the basis of this list, we can conclude the following:

1. The conjunctions *lamin* “if” and *narang* “the more...the more...” frequently occur in “The Story of a Flat Stone.”
2. Higher frequency of the conjunction indicating “reason” is remarkable in both texts.
3. The variety of conjunctions in the older text is relatively small. For example, there is only one conjunction that indicates causation (*apa* “because”), whereas the two conjunctions *karena* and *sebab* may be the ones adopted relatively recently from Malay.
4. The conjunction *ame* (purpose/result) “so that” is most frequently observed in the older text, as seen in sentence (28). However, this conjunction is not attested in the data obtained for this research from the Sumbawa Besar dialect speaking area.

(28) “*Lalo ete sampi ode nan, ame tu-sěměle*”.

go take cow small that so that 1PL-kill

“Go and take the small cow, so that we can kill it.” [Jonker (1934: 216)]

Table 4 shows the list and its frequency of semantic relations, which are indicated by the coordination type of juxtaposition.

Table 4 Semantic relations that are indicated by combined clauses without conjunction

	Story of a Flat Stone (Shiohara, 2012)	Story of Salam (Jonker, 1934)
Units without a conjunction	58	96
Subordinate type	0	0
Coordinate type	58	96
attribution	9	40
succession	10	42
paraphrase	9	0
relativization	8	8
reversal expectation (the relation with “but”)	5	1
repetition	5	1
reason	4	1
coupling	4	0
introduction	2	1
contrast	2	2

We can conclude the following from this list:

1. Lack of the subordinate type: Examples of the subordinate type are not observed in both stories.
2. Succession: Successive events as described in sentence (29) are most frequently observed in both stories.

(29) *Turin mo nja Salam,*
 go down ICT TITLE Salam
ia-ete bulaeng sarea,
 3-take gold all
ia-bawa mule.
 3-bring go.home
 “Salam climbed down, took all the gold and brought it home.”
 [Jonker (1934: 218)]

We can also conclude that Sumbawa indicates the time relation between successive events only by the order of combined clauses and not by a conjunction. A time adverbial or the verb *suda* “finish” is often used to indicate the time relation in juxtaposed clauses. Time adverbials indicate the time relation in Example (30).

- (30) *Ia-langka* *kēban* *pang* *nja* *Salam,*
 3-enter garden place TITLE Salam
dunung *bagita* *nja* *Salam,*
 before see TITLE Salam
mudi *guru* *bagita.*
 later teacher see
 “They entered the garden where Salam was, Salam saw the master before he saw him.” (Jonker (1934: 220))

The verb *suda* “finish” indicates the time relation in example (31).

- (31) *kamo* *suda* *tu-tuja'* *padé* *ta*
 already finish 1PL-pound rice this
ta *muntu* *tu-tepé*
 this time 1PL-winnow
 “We are winnowing rice, **after** pounding it.”
 [lit. “We already **finished** pounding rice, now we are winnowing (it).”]
 [Shiohara (2006: 61)]

- (32) *Ka=suda* *ia-djēlit* *bale* *nan,* *datang* *nja* *Salam,*
 PST=finish 3-burn house that come TITLE Salam
ia-sapěda *api* *nan,*
 3-put.out fire that
ia-pili *arang* *bale* *nan,*
 3-gather charcoal house that
ia-isi *lako* *bosang.*
 3-put.in to basket
 “When he had **finished** burning the house, Salam came, put out the fire, gathered up the charcoal from the house and put it in a basket.” [Jonker (1934: 218)]

(iii) Reversal expression

The conjunction *tapi*, which indicates reversal expression (the equivalent of *but* in English) is not observed in “The Story of Salam.” A few juxtaposed clauses exhibit a semantic relation that could be considered as reversal expression as shown by the English translation, but the conjunction indicating the relation is not used here.

- (33) *Lalo* *tau* *ode* *buja* *Salam,*
 go person child look.for Salam

∅ *Salam* *nomonda.*

Salam NEG.anymore

“A servant went to look for Salam, **but** Salam wasn’t there.”

[Jonker (1934: 216)]

(34) *Lalo* *ina* *Salam,*

go mother Salam

ia-eneng *lako* *guru* *pa* *satue;*

3=ask.for to teacher leg one.side

∅ *nongka* *ia-beang* *ling* *guru.*

NEG.PST 3-give by teacher

“Salam’s mother went to ask for a leg, **but** the master did not give it.”

[Jonker (1934: 216)]

(iv) Relativization

It is important to note that a relative clause with *adè*, which is a common device that forms a relative clause in contemporary Sumbawa, is not observed in both texts. A verb phrase directly modifies the head noun in all of the relativized NPs, as seen in the following examples:

(35) *batu* *nampar* *Batu-Langléló* *ta*

stone flat stone-Langléló this

pang’ ∅ *ka=sia-satokal* *kami* *ta*

place PST=2SG-sit 1 PL this

“The flat stone, the Langlelo stone **on which** you make us sit”

[Shiohara (2006: 60)]

(36) *beling* *tau* ∅ *gita* *tau:*

say person look people

“*Aku* *nam* *ratis,* *apa* *aku* *boat* *gita* *tau.*”

1SG six hundred because 1SG work look people

“The one **who** had kept watch said “Six hundred for me, because it was my job to be on the lookout.” [Jonker (1934: 216)]

4. Final remarks

This study has examined clause combining patterns in Sumbawa. Section 2 provided an overview of clause combining in the contemporary language. In some cases, clauses are

combined without a conjunction. These cases can be divided into two types, namely, subordinate and coordinate. The former covers quite a wide range of semantics, including instrumental and comitative meanings, which are usually conveyed by the serial verb construction in other languages of the area, as well as attribution (quotation), which is typically expressed by the subordinate clause (compliment clause) across languages. Section 3 analyzed clause combining in two narrative texts from different time periods. The texts share some common features: (i) Subordinate clauses without a conjunction are not observed; (ii) temporal succession tends to be expressed by parataxis, rather than by subordination (e.g., by an adverbial and a main clause); and (iii) the verb phrase directly modifies the head noun in relative clauses, and the relativizer *adè*, which often appears in elicited sentences, is never used.

We may see these features as being characteristics of spoken language. Chafe (1982: 38), in his discussion on the difference between spoken and written language, argues that spoken language tends to be more fragmented, with frequent use of parataxis and coordinating conjunctions, and less integrated, with less frequent use of nominalizations, complement clauses, and relative clauses, among others. The characteristics that Chafe attributes to spoken language, for the most part, coincide with features (i)–(iii) that are observed in Sumbawa. The older text, “the story of Salam,” is taken from a larger written text (Jonker 1934). As mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 3, it is unknown when and where Jonker originally obtained the text, but we could say that it reflects the spoken language of when he collected it. We may see these features as being characteristics of spoken language. We can conjecture that the devices of subordination, examined in sections 2.1 and 2.2.1, are a relatively recent development, possibly caused by the recent exposure of Sumbawa speakers to written Indonesian, which is based on Malay, through education and mass media (e.g., newspapers and TV).

Furthermore, the examination of the two texts manifests language change from around the 1930s to the present. The adversative conjunction *tapi* (the equivalent of English *but*), which occurs frequently in contemporary Sumbawa, is not attested in the old text. Therefore, Sumbawa possibly lacked an indigenous adversative conjunction, and the conjunction *tapi* may have been borrowed recently from Malay.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	the first person, second person, third person
FUT	future
ICT	inchoative
IMP	imperative
INTERJ	interjection

NEG	negator
PL	plural
PST	past
PUR	purpose
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
TITLE	particle introducing a personal name
UEPTD	unexpected situation

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